1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

desire him to be made free." Frequently this was done and he suffered no punishment.

Among the Alabama retaliation for murder rested, as among the Creeks, with the clan of the victim. Upon one occasion, after this tribe had removed to Louisiana and Texas, one of the Louisiana Alabama killed another and fled to Texas. Sometime afterward he suddenly appeared among the people he had left while a dance was going on. The men belonging to the clan of the murdered man then got their guns, came to the place, and killed him. He on his part crouched by the fire and made no attempt to escape. Evidently he had decided deliberately that death was better than banishment.

There is no instance recorded of an old person being killed to save his family the trouble of supporting him, and Bartram is insistent that such cases occurred rarely, and only at the earnest request of the victim.[88] Bossu says that "the old people who can not follow during a retreat ask to be killed with blows of clubs, as well to spare them the grief of decrepitude as for fear lest they fall into the hands of their enemies, and be burned or eaten,"[89] but he is careful to explain that death was inflicted upon the aged only from motives of humanity. Says Romans: "They revere old age to excess," but he adds, "in extreme sickness they will out of compassion break the neck of the decrepit or lingering patient."[90]

Infanticide was practiced under certain circumstances, as the following from Swan shows:

"If a young woman becomes pregnant by a fellow whom she had expected to marry, and is disappointed, in revenge, she is authorized by a custom of the country, to destroy the infant at the birth, if she pleases, which is often done, by leaving it to perish in the swamp where it was born, or throwing it into the water. And, indeed, to destroy a new-born infant is not uncommon in families that are grown so numerous as to be supported with difficulty; it is done by mutual consent of the clan and parents, and without remorse."[91]

This is supported by Milfort:

"In this nation the children all belong to the mother, who has the right of life and death over the one to whom she has just given birth, during the first month following her confinement. This time having expired, if she should kill it she would herself be punished with death."[92]

Witchcraft was often given as the reason for killing a certain person, but it must be remembered that the person was not destroyed

[88] Bartram, Travels, p. 497.
[89] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 28-30.
[90] Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 96.
[91] Swan, in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 272.
[92] Milfort, Mém., p. 261.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

754 683 merely because he was believed to possess the powers of a wizard, but because it was thought he had used his art to kill or seriously injure someone else. Thus the wizard (or witch) was not punished for being a wizard, according to the understanding of the people themselves, but for being a murderer.

684 Adultery was punished among the Creeks and other southern tribes in such a striking manner that almost every traveler in that section has recorded something about the custom. The first report of it was given by Garcilasso from information furnished by two old soldiers of De Soto's army and is as follows:

"Before leaving the province of Tuscaluça, it is proper to relate the manner in which the laws of this country and of that of Coça, punish adulteresses. There is, in this last province, a law which decrees, upon penalty of death, that if any one has sufficient indications to believe that a woman is an adulteress, he has to inquire into it and impeach her before the cacique, or, in his absence, before the local judges. These judges upon the report that is made to them, secretly hold an inquest against the person accused, and arrest her if they find her guilty. Afterwards, at the first festival, they order to be published that the inhabitants, on going out from their dinner repair to a certain place outside of the village, and that there they all arrange themselves in a row. Then come the judges, of whom two place themselves at one end of this file, and two at the other. They first decree that they bring to them the adulteress, and then they say to her husband who is present, that she is convicted of a lewd life, and that he must deal with her according to the rigor of the law. The husband strips her entirely naked, and shaves her with a kind of razor of flint; a disgraceful punishment and common among the Indians of the new world. Then to show that he repudiates her, he leaves with the clothes of his wife, and abandons her to the power of the judges. Two immediately command the criminal to pass in front of the persons who are in a row, and to go and declare her crime to the other two officers. She obeys, and as soon as she draws near to them she tells them that she is convicted of adultery and condemned to the penalty with which the law punishes that crime; that she is sent to them in order that they may do with her what it shall please them for the welfare of the province. The judges immediately send her back with this answer: that it is just that the laws that are made with a view to the preservation of public virtue should be inviolably observed; that therefore they confirm the sentence which they have rendered against her, and order her in the future not to relapse again into her crime. Thereupon she returns to the first judges, and the people who are in a row hiss her, and endeavor by means of insults, to increase her shame. In the mean time the people who come in a crowd and see her naked, yell at her. Some

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

791

had a long time subsided, it was very reasonable they should still continue this their old beloved custom; especially as it was both profitable in supporting many of their helpless old beloved men, and very productive of virtue, by awing their young people from violating the ancient laws."[13]

There were others who claimed they could make the waters in swollen streams subside, and still another class of dew makers, who could also prevent the dew from falling. If there had been a dry spring someone might say, at the time of the first stomp dance, "There is a dew maker over yonder. Let us invite him to make dew for us." It is said that such a man could not assist anyone, even though he desired to do so, unless he were formally invited. The council having agreed, he would come over and go through with his incantations, and a treat was given him by way of payment. If, after this had been done, it still continued dry at the time of the next stomp dance, it might be suggested that a rain maker be called in. Eakins remarks dryly that "the weather, about the time of the distribution of the annuity, in some parts of the nation, falls under the scrutiny of the physic-makers."[13a] He probably means men of the above class.

According to early writers some doctors claimed to be able to control the thunder and lightning, but we are not informed whether they were a separate class or identical with one of those already mentioned. Bartram was present when a Seminole chief threatened one of the white traders that, if he did not comply with his requests, he would cause the thunder and lightning to descend upon his head and reduce his stores to ashes.

WITCHCRAFT

754

The great powers which doctors and graduates of the native schools generally enjoyed, while in theory capable of being exerted for the good of the community and the individuals composing it, might equally well be perverted to their injury or destruction. Jackson Lewis said that the same learned men who acted as instructors in medicine and the lore of the tribe generally could teach witchcraft, but he added that they advised against it, saying that it was only for mischief and that anyone who practiced it would eventually come to a dog's death, because witches were killed. But since such knowledge was known to reside in the great doctors and graduates and it was never certain that it would not be employed, these people were constantly open to suspicion, and, as Swan tells us in the quotation given above, a doctor whose patient died was apt to suffer from the imputation of witchcraft and be put to death himself. An Alabama informant told me that when he was a young man an old woman was accused of being a witch and cut to pieces. This sus-

[13] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 94-96. [13a] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 277

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

•754

picion was also encouraged by the doctors themselves, who frequently attributed sickness to the doings of witches, and the public mind was kept wrought up to a condition of feverish excitement and fear by the most grewsome tales vouched for as absolute truth.

Says Stiggins:

"They are tinctured with superstition and believe anything of a marvelous report. As soon as it is announced that a man is acquainted with the work and dismal effects of the diabolical art, such as flying about the country far and near to poison such people as are inimical to him, or blowing and infusing a contagious air into a house in passing by it at night or into the nostrils and lungs of a particular person while asleep, by which the wizard often destroyed by instant death a person or an entire family that he did not like—the wizard it was said being seen at twilight only of an evening flying about to do mischief—whenever such a person was found, I say, it was not for him to exculpate himself. He was seized by a mob, tied to a tree with ropes, and lightwood piled around him and set on fire and he burned to death with as little compunction or remorse of conscience as, in the Roman inquisition, many of the most enlightened and well disposed to peace and good order, were brought to a fiery ordeal for the common good." [14]

Hitchcock learned that witches and wizards "can take the form of owls and fly about at night and at day return home in the form of women and men; that they can take the heart and the spirit out of living men and cause their death; that they can cripple people by shooting rags or blood into their legs through a reed or out of their mouths." "Formerly," he was told, "the Indians have been known to knock old women regarded as witches on the head and throw them into the water. Now there is a law against it, but even last year an old woman was killed as a witch." [15]

Adair says that "there are not greater bigots in Europe, nor persons more superstitious, than the Indians, (especially the women) concerning the power of witches, wizards, and evil spirits. It is the chief feature of their idle winter night's chat: and both they, and several of our traders, report very incredible and shocking stories. They will affirm that they have seen, and distinctly, most surprising apparitions, and heard horrid shrieking noises." [16]

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Suspicion of witchcraft attached not only to doctors and graduates but to old persons of both sexes. I was told that formerly the Creeks did not allow their children to hang around where old people were conversing, for they thought that by standing around them and looking at them they would get into the habit of telling lies and also that

[14] Stiggins, Ms. [15] Hitchcock, Ms. notes. [16] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 36.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

the old people might bewitch them. This does not speak very highly for the reputation for veracity enjoyed by the aged. It was thought that any old man who had passed through as many fastings as most of them had undergone at that time of life might be a wizard. It was feared that he might shoot a pain into the child or injure it in some other manner. One of my informants said he had often been slapped hard enough to be knocked down when he was standing near some of the old people. The following from Adair gives additional information regarding witchcraft among the Chickasaw, and contains the only extant account of an exorcism to preserve the house from evil influences. He says:

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"In the year 1765, an old physician, or prophet, almost drunk with spirituous liquors, came to pay me a friendly visit: his situation made him more communicative than he would have been if quite sober. When he came to the door, he bowed himself half bent, with his arms extended north and south, continuing so perhaps for the space of a minute. Then raising himself erect, with his arms in the same position, he looked in a wild frightful manner, from the south-west toward the north, and sung on a low bass key *Yo Yo Yo Yo*, almost a minute, then *He He He He*, for perhaps the same space of time, and *Wa Wa Wa Wa*, in like manner; and then transposed and accented those sacred notes several different ways, in a most rapid guttural manner. Now and then he looked upwards, with his head considerably bent backward; his song continued about a quarter of an hour. As my door which was then opened stood east, his face of course looked toward the west; but whether the natives thus usually invoke the deity, I cannot determine; yet as all their winter houses have their doors toward the east, had he used the like solemn invocations there, his face would have consequently looked the same way, contrary to the usage of the heathens. After his song, he stepped in: I saluted him, saying, 'Are you come my beloved old friend?' he replied, *Arahre-O*, 'I am come in the name of Oea.'[16a] I told him, I was glad to see, that in this mad age, he still retained the old Chikkasah virtues. He said, that as he came with a glad heart to see me his old friend, he imagined he could not do me a more kind service, than to secure my house from the power of the evil spirits of the north, south, and west,—and, from witches, and wizards, who go about in dark nights, in the shape of bears, hogs, and wolves, to spoil people: 'the very month before, added he, we killed an old witch, for having used destructive charms.' Because a child was suddenly taken ill, and died, on the physician's false evidence, the father went to the poor helpless old woman who was sitting innocent,

[16a] This is ilali, "I come," followed by a simple exclamation. The being "Oea" is contributed by Adair's imagination.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

754 and unsuspecting, and sunk his tomahawk into her head, without the least fear of being called to an account. They call witches and wizards, *Ishtabe*, and *Hoollabe*, 'man-killers,' and 'spoilers of things sacred.'[17]

"My prophetic friend desired me to think myself secure from those dangerous enemies of darkness, for (said he) *Tarooa Ishtohoollo-Antarooare*, 'I have sung the song of the great holy one.'[18a] The Indians are so tenacious of concealing their religious mysteries, that I never before observed such an invocation on the like occasion—adjuring evil spirits, witches, etc. by the awful name of the deity." [19]

This exorcism probably gives a clue to one of the reasons why the doors of the winter houses opened eastward; also the reason for the eastward orientation of most of the chiefs' houses in the square ground.

From the Texas Alabama I learned that a witch operated by taking a small raveling of wool which he talked to and blew upon and then sent through the air to the person he wished to injure. It would go into this person and prevent him from breathing, or hurt him in some other way, so as to endanger his life unless the trouble were located. If a doctor were called in he would take a sharp bit of glass, make some incisions over the place where the raveling had lodged, and, applying a horn to the spot, suck the foreign body out. These bodies looked black, red, or blue. My informant had seen the operation performed and the bodies that were removed. Besides woolen ravelings, ravelings of other kinds might be used, charcoal, and probably bones also. The injuries inflicted by charcoal were very serious.

Sometimes a man or woman who disliked a hunter would make medicine in order to keep him from killing game. The Alabama called this impiafõtcĭ, "to make him kill nothing."[18a] The hunter might go to a doctor, however, and have him make medicine to counteract that of the witch. A man once saw an eagle catching fish and used the impiafõtcĭ against it so that it could get nothing and almost starved to death. The eagle went out in all directions and caught nothing, but finally he went up into the sky and caught a fish there. Next day the same thing happened and now the man who had tried to bewitch the eagle began to get thin, and finally he died. The eagle had beaten him.

From the same source I learned that a man who had acquired the black art would sometimes wake up in the morning and see a hatchet or a knife on his breast. Then, when he killed someone by means of

[17] Ishto, big; abi, to kill; holo, what is sacred; abi, to kill.
[18] Takoa, song; ishto, big; holo, sacred; ontaloali, or intaloali, I have sung to them.
[19] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 176–177.
[18a] Piafo signifies "unlucky"; impiafõtcĭ, "to cause one to be unlucky."

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

754.

his arts, he was sure to be found out and killed himself by the man's relatives with the same kind of weapon he had seen in his vision.

In speaking of doctors I have mentioned the native belief that they owed their power to animals of various kinds, but that if these became too strong they would kill the doctor and leave him. The same idea appears in witchcraft, although my information here is specifically from the Alabama and Koasati. When a man became a witch these Indians believed he was full of lizards, which compelled the person of whom they had possession to kill someone every little while. If he did not they would begin to bite him and would finally devour him. Such a person could be cured, however, by undergoing a treatment to expel the lizards.

After a would-be wizard had completed his course of training, the teacher directed him to begin by killing one of his own family. He gave him medicine and told him to go and do so immediately. If he said he would not kill his own people, the instructor answered "Go on! you said that is what you wanted to do." But if he urged him repeatedly to no purpose, he said, "All right! kill a fox squirrel and bring it here!" After he had done so, the instructor said, "Throw it on top of the house." The wizard-novice did this, and after the body had remained so long that it stank, the other said, "Eat it!" Then the instructor conducted him to a place where there was water and said, "Vomit on the water." So he threw up and discharged lizards until the water was covered. The witching powers went with them.

The Koasati cured a wizard by binding spunk wood all over his chest and belly, taking him to a place where there was water, and rolling him over and over there, when he would throw up lizards in the manner described.

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A milder form of witchcraft was that exercised by a man or woman to inspire love in a person of the opposite sex. The following account of such a conjuration is also from the Alabama of Texas.

When a youth fell in love he would sometimes, especially if he were rejected, go to a male or female conjurer for assistance. Then the conjurer would take some tobacco, put it into a small deerskin sack, sing, and repeat the girl's name, and blow into it through a short cane. After doing this four times he would wrap it up in a handkerchief and give it to the young man. The latter would then put on his head band and his other fine clothing, sprinkle some tobacco over his clothes, make a cigarette, and blow the smoke all over himself. Then the girl would fall in love with him. A girl could make a man fall in love with her in precisely the same way. Sometimes, however, this would be tried in vain several times. Then the conjurer would go to a small brook and make a little water hole, perhaps half a foot deep. He would blow into this four times through a cane, repeating the girl's name each time. The youth

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

753
539

Oh thlan etoht [ohlanitat], cover it up
Tetahken [titakin], ready
Oewa [oiwa], water
Ahklopekaht [aklopikat], wash it
Tetanken [titakin], ready

Or—

Great kings are dead
Be ready to dig the grave

Let the people bury them
Let them be ready to cover them

Let the water be ready for washing.[2]

753 This disease was connected with the whole question of ghosts and preventive measures and medicines against them. The Texas Alabama believed that if a person who had been by a grave came near one who was sick the latter would have fits. My informant claimed that upon one occasion a number of persons who had been near a grave came in where he was lying sick and sat down around him, whereupon he became deaf and acted as if he were out of his head. Such fits were thought to be caused by ghosts, and, to induce them to leave, the doctor would put cedar leaves into a pot over the fire without any water. As these leaves parched the smoke arising from them would fill the house. The ghost would like this and go away. Another Alabama medicine used against ghosts was the leaves of the sweet bay, which were made into a tea, drunk, and vomited up. This was done twice.

Among the Creeks generally hitci pâkpâgi was the sovereign deterrent for ghosts, though hilis hâtki or ginseng was also used.

The Texas Alabama believe that if one's hands and feet are pierced by the "poison briar" he will not get well, but I did not hear of any doctoring in connection with this.

The same people also mention a disease called lefka, of the origin of which I am ignorant. It is produced by trying to lift a load beyond the person's real ability, causing perhaps a strained tendon. They treated it by tying about the affected part a briar much like the kanta, called in their language bâkco oktcâko, "blue briar." At the same time they sang and blew upon the place. A white man was once cured in this way by two Indian women, but when one of my informants tried that remedy himself upon another occasion it would not work because he did not know the proper formulæ.

754 When a person exhibited a horror of other people and, if he found himself suddenly where there were many, always ran away, they said that his disease was due to people—i. e., he was suffering from witchcraft. Says Swan:

[2] Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

754 "Stitches in the side, or small rheumatic pains, which are frequent with them [the Creeks], are often considered as the effect of some magic wound. They firmly believe that their Indian enemies have the power of shooting them as they lie asleep, at the distance of 500 miles. They often complain of having been shot by a Choctaw or Chickasaw from the midst of these nations, and send or go directly to the most cunning and eminent doctress for relief." [34] Male doctors prescribed for witchcraft equally with women.

114 753 Some other diseases and some different methods of treating the above are given by Doctor Speck, to whose paper (Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 121–133) the reader is referred. Also cf. the same writer's Yuchi paper, Anthrop. Pubs. Univ. Mus., I, pp. 132–135.

753 Sickness was sometimes attributed to the absence of the soul from the body, and this was probably assigned as a principal cause of disease as well as a secondary cause. It was then the object of the doctor to induce it to come back. I have an Alabama story telling of such an occurrence. This is given by the same people as the specific cause of "slow fever." [34a]

753 177 Adair gives us in one invaluable paragraph an account of the origin and naming of a new disease. He says:

"In 1767, the Indians were struck with a disease, which they were unacquainted with before. It began with sharp pains in the head, at the lower part of each of the ears, and swelled the face and throat in a very extraordinary manner, and also the testicles. It continued about a fortnight, and in the like space of time went off gradually, without any dangerous consequence, or use of outward or inward remedies: they called it *Wahka Abeeka*, 'the cattle's distemper,' or sickness. Some of their young men had by stealth killed and eaten a few of the cattle which the traders had brought up, and they imagined they had thus polluted themselves, and were smitten in that strange manner, by having their heads, necks, etc., magnified like the same parts of a sick bull. They first concluded, either to kill all the cattle, or send them immediately off their land, to prevent the like mischief, or greater ills from befalling the beloved people—for their cunning old physicians or prophets would not undertake to cure them, in order to inflame the people to execute the former resolution; being jealous of encroachments, and afraid the cattle would spoil their open cornfields; upon which account, the traders arguments had no weight with these red Hebrew philosophers. But fortunately one of their head warriors had a few cattle soon presented to him, to keep off the wolf; and his reasoning proved so weighty, as to alter their resolution, and produce in them a contrary belief." [35]

[34] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[34a] See p. 666.
[35] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 169.